

Message Text

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21

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-07 ISO-00 EA-06 AID-01 NSC-06 /024 W

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P R 250900Z AUG 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4309

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 PEKING 1623

LIMDIS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS:OREP (ANDERSON, JOHN) CH PINT PFOR

SUBJECT: CODEL ANDERSON MEETING WITH TENG HSIAO-PING

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. DURING AN AUGUST 23 MEETING WITH PRC VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION LED BY CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON ASKED POINTED QUESTIONS ABOUT PRC INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES. IN REPLY TENG REAFFIRMED PRC LONG-RANGE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS TO CATCH UP WITH DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY WHILE RELYING MAINLY ON ITS OWN EFFORTS;

--GAVE 800 MILLION AS THE "MOST RELIABLE STATISTIC" FOR CHINA'S POPULATION;

--CITING HIS OWN POSITION AS PLA CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, DENIED THE PLA HAD ENTERED FACTORIES IN HANGCHOW AND ASSERTED ABSOLUTE PARTY LEADERSHIP OVER THE ARMY;

--DEEMPHASIZED THE SOVIET MILITARY THREAT TO CHINA WHILE TALKING UP SOVIET DESIRES FOR BASES IN INDOCHINA;

--DEFINED "EXPORT OF REVOLUTION" AS IMPOSING IDEAS ON OTHERS AND DEMANDING THEY ACT ACCORDINGLY, WHICH CHINA WOULD NOT DO, THEN REAFFIRMED CHINESE INTENTION TO "SUPPORT REVOLUTION" AS A DUTY;

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--WARNED AGAINST THE THREAT OF WAR WHILE EXPRESSING
CHINA'S DESIRE FOR A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR DEVELOPMENT;

--DECLARED A DANGER THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD CONTROL
PORTUGAL AND DEFINED THE PRC STANCE TOWARD PORTUGAL
AS "WAIT AND SEE";

--AND SAW THE UNITED NATIONS PLAYING A NECESSARY
BUT VERY LIMITED UROLE. END SUMMARY

2. FOLLOWING ARE TENG'S COMMENTS TO THE CODEL ON
THESE AND RELATED TOPICS:

PRC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLANS. ASKED WHETHER CHINA
WOULD CONTINUE AUTARCHY OR DEVELOP FOREIGN
TRADE IN ITS UPCOMING FIVE-YEAR PLAN, TENG SAID:
"WE ARE MAKING OUR LONG-RANGE PLANS NOW. AS
PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI SAID AT THE FOURTH NATIONAL
PEOPLE'S CONGRESS, CHAIRMAN MAO'S DIRECTIVE ON
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SAID THAT THE FIRST STAGE WILL
BE CONCLUDED IN ABOUT FIVE YEARS AND THE SECOND STAGE
TOWARD THE END OF THIS CENTURY. WE ARE NOW MAKING
LONG-RANGE PLANS, WHICH MEAN THAT TOWARD THE END
OF THE CENTURY CHINESE DEVELOPMENT WILL BE CLOSE TO
THAT OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.
IT IS NOT AS BIG AS (WILL NOT BE AS BIG AS) THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES',
REALLY, AND CANNOT BE COMPARED WITH THOSE OF WESTERN EUROPE,
THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN, WE HAVE DIFFERENT
CONDITIONS IN CHINA, SUCH AS A BIG POPULATION. IT IS
NOT EASY TO CATCH UP WITH EUROPE, MORE ALONE THE UNITED
STATES, IN PER CAPITA INCOME. WE BASE OUR POLICY
ON SELF-RELIANCE. BY SELF-RELIANCE WE WILL BUILD
UP THE COUNTRY WITH SAVINGS ACCUMULATED BY OURSELVES.
WE WILL NOT INCURE ANY FOREIGN DEBTS. SELF-RELIANCE
HOWEVER, DOES NOT MEAN A CLOSED DOOR, AND DOES NOT
MEAN THAT WE WILL NOT ABSORB TECHNOLOGY FROM ALL OVER
THE WORLD. IN THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY
THERE WILL BE BROADER PROSPECTS FOR TRADE."

QUERIED AS TO WHETHER THIS POLICY OF SELF-RELIANCE
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WAS IDEOLOGICAL OR BASED ON EXPERIENCE, TENG
REPLIED:

"WE TAKE THE VIEW BOTH TO COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY AND
TO OUR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. FIRST, BY IDEOLOGY
I MEAN THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE CHINESE PEOPLE
CAN BUILD UP THEIR COUNTRY BY RELYING ON THEIR OWN
EFFORTS. SECOND, IN SAYING THAT WE WILL INCURE NO

FOREIGN DEBTS IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE REJECT FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY. THEN THERE IS OUR HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO MENTION THE DISTANT PAST. IN THE 1950'S WE OWED A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY TO THE SOVIET UNION AND WERE FORCED TO TIGHTEN OUR BELTS."

ASKED IF THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN PROVIDED FOR MORE GOODS FOR CONSUMERS, TENG REPLIED:
"WE ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO GRADUALLY IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVELIHOOD. FORTUNATELY, THE PEOPLE DON'T DEMAND TOO MUCH SINCE THEY KNOW WE NEED OUR FUNDS FOR DEVELOPMENT. IN THE LONG TERM, THE NEED TO ACCUMULATE CAPITAL FOR INVESTMENT WILL BE TO THEIR LONG-RUN BENEFIT."

CHINA'S POPULATION:

"WE HAVE CONDUCTED CENSUSES IN THE PAST AND HAVE OUR OWN METHODS OF ESTIMATING. THE MOST RELIABLE STATISTIC IS THAT THE POPULATION IS 800 MILLION. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT DIFFERENT UNITS' REPORTS OF POPULATION SOMETIMES ARE FALSE, BECAUSE CHINESE LIKE TO HAVE A BIG POPULATION. A BIG FAMILY HAS BEEN CONSIDERED PROSPEROUS FOR 10,000 YEARS IN CHINA. IT IS NOT EASY TO CONTROL THIS PRACTICE, SINCE IT IS A PROBLEM OF FOOD GRAIN. A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE IS CONSUMED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNE AND A CERTAIN PERCENTAGE GOES TO THE STATE. THEREFORE, THEY REPORT A LARGER POPULATION IN ORDER TO KEEP MORE GRAIN IN THE COMMUNE. SINCE THE POLICY OF THE COUNTRY IS TO STORE MORE GOZD RESERVES AT THE GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL IN THE COMMUNE, IT IS A GOOD THING THAT THEY CAN KEEP MORE GRAIN. THIS ALSO INCLUDES OUTPUT FIGURES. SOMETIMES THE COMMUNES
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REPORT LOWER OUTPUT FIGURES THAN ARE ACTUALLY THE FACT. THIS IS ALL RIGHT."

MINORITY POLICY IN BORDER REGIONS. ASKED ABOUT PRC POLICY IN MINORITY REGIONS TO COUNTER SOVIET PROPAGANDA, TENG SAID:
"SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA, WE HAVE HAD A POLICY OF EQUALITY OF ALL NATIONALITIES AND ACTUALLY HAVE GIVEN MORE ATTENTION TO THE MINORITY

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P R 250900Z AUG 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4310

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 PEKING 1623

LIMDIS

NATIONALITIES THAN TO THE HANS.

IN THAT PART OF THE EASTERN SECTOR OF THE FRONTIER
IN NORTHEAST CHINA THERE IS NO PROBLEM, SINCE THE
POPULATION IS MAINLY HANS. INNER MONGILIA AND
SIHKIANG, HOWEVER, ARE MAINLY INHABITED BY MINORITIES.
ALONG THE SINO-SOVIET FORNTIER THERE HAS BEEN PROPAGANDA
BY LOUDSPEAKER AND BY CORRESPONDENCE WHERE THE SAME
MINORITIES EXIST ON BOTH SIDES OF THE FRONTIER. THERE
HAVE BEEN UNCOUNTED INSTANCES OF ACTION BY THE SOVIET
UNION TO UNDERMINE THE UNITY OF CHINA IN THESE AREAS.
WE HAVE NO WAY TO STOP THE SOVIET UNION. OUR WAY
IS TO TELL THE MINORITY PEOPLES WHAT THE SOVIETS ARE
SAYING AND LET THEM JUDGE FOR THEMSELVES WHETHER IT
IS TRUE OR FALSE. THERE IS THE MONGILIAN
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, OR AS WE CALLED IT OUTER
MONGOLIA, AND THERE IS INNER MONGILIA, WHICH
HAS A BIGGER MONGOL POPULATION THAT OUTER MONGILIA.
IN OUTER MONGILIA THEY HAVE THE SAME LIVESTOCK POPULATION
AS BEFORE LIBERATION, WHEREAS IN INNER MONGOLIA THE
LIVESTOCK POPULATION IS SEVERAL TIMES THE PRE-
LIBERATION PER CAPITA FIGURE. OUR PEOPLE CAN COMPARE
FOR THEMSELVES TO SEE WHICH IS BELIEVABLE. NO
PROPAGANDA CAN SUCCEED UNDER THTE CIRCUMSTANCES.
THE SAME IS TRUE IN SINKIANG. THE MINORITIES IN
SINKIANG HAVE HIGHER STANDARDS OF LIVING THEN THE
HANS."

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PLA IN HANGCHOW FACTORIES. WHEN A QUESTIONER MENTIONED HE HAD READ THAT TROOPS HAD RECENTLY GONE INTO

HANGCHOW FACTORIES, TENG QUICKLY REPLIED:

"THE REPORTS FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS ARE FALSE. I, AS CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF, AM NOT AWARE THAT MY TROOPS HAVE ENTERED FACTORIES IN HANGCHOW. IT IS NOT A FACT. FOR ANOTHER INSTANCE, THERE ARE REPORTS OF STRIKES OR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEADERS OF CHINA. THEY ARE ABSOLUTELY UNTRUE. OUR POLICIES ARE FORMULATED BY CHAIRMAN MAO AND IMPLEMENTED BY ALL OF US.

ROLE OF THE PLA: NOTING THE POSSIBLE CONNECTION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF TROOPS WITH EXPANSIONISM, ONE SENATOR LATER ASKED TENG ABOUT PLA'S POLICY ROLE. HE ANSWERED:

"PERHAPS YOU ARE NOT AWARE OF THE TRADITION OF OUR ARMY. OUR ARMED FORCES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE, IT IS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY. CHAIRMAN MAO IS THE PARTY CHAIRMAN AND ALSO HEAD OF THE MILITARY COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY, SO THE ENTIRE ARMED FORCES ARE UNDER PARTY LEADERSHIP. THE REGIONAL ARMED FORCES ARE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY COMMITTEES OF THE SAME LEVEL. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE PROVINCES THE POLITICAL COMMISSAR IS ALSO THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCE. THIS IS THE SYSTEM LAID DOWN BY CHAIRMAN MAO IN THE CHINGKANG MOUNTAINS.

DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES WERE A THREE-IN-ONE COMMITTEE. THE MILITARY PARTICIPATED IN THE LEADERSHIP. THIS WAS DONE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NEED AT THE TIME IN THE MASS MOVEMENT, AND IT WAS DONE BY A PARTY DECISION. CONFIDENTIAL

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NATURALLY AT THE TIME THERE WERE TWO DIFFERENT VIEWS OF ARMY UNITS PARTICIPATING. WHEN THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE MASS MOVEMENT WERE SOLVED, THERE WAS ANOTHER PARTY DECISION AND THE MILITARY WERE WITHDRAWN. THE MILITARY HAVE ALWAYS BEEN UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PARTY. IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF GREATER OR LESS POWER. WHEN THE MILITARY ENTER OR LEAVE THE

REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES, THEY DO SO AT THE DECISION OF THE PARTY. IF YOU LOOK AT THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY THROUGH YOUR CONVENTIONAL KNOWLEDGE, THIS ROLE IS NOT EASY TO UNDERSTAND. THERE ARE TWO ASPECTS: FIRST, THE ARMED FORCES ARE UNDER ABSOLUTE PARTY LEADERSHIP; SECOND, THE ARMED FORCES ARE THE PILLAR OF THE PROLETARIAT.

IN SOME COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD THE MILITARY HAVE OVERTHROWN THE GOVERNMENT. OURS WILL NOT. OUR FORMER MINISTER OF DEFENSE LIN BIAO WANTED TO REBEL BUT IN THE END HE WAS ABLE TO TAKE WITH HIM ONLY HIS WIFE AND SON, AND NO TROOPS UNDER HIM REBELLED.

SOVIET TROOPS ON CHINESE BORDER: ASKED WHY FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO HAD SAID SOVIET FAR EASTERN TROOPS WERE A THREAT FIRST TO THE US, THEN TO JAPAN, AND ONLY THIRD TO CHINA, TANG SAID:

"THE SOVIET UNION HAS OVER A MILLION TROOPS ALONG THE 7200 KILOMETERS OF THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER, BUT THIS IS ONLY A SMALL PART OF THEIR FORCE. ONLY ONE-FOURTH OF THEIR NAVAL AND AIRFORCES ARE IN THE PACIFIC. A MILLION TROOPS CANNOT PLAY A SIGNIFICANT ROLE ALONG THE CHINESE FRONTIER.

IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT THE FOCUS OF SOVIET STRATEGY IS IN EUROPE, INCLUDING TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST. SOVIET STRATEGY IS TO FEINT TO THE EAST AND STRIKE AT THE WEST. PEOPLE TEND TO THINK THAT THE ONE MILLION TROOPS ARE GROUND FORCES AND FORGET ABOUT THE NAVAL AND AIR FORCES. PEOPLE ALSO FORGET WHY THE SOVIET UNION STILL OCCUPIES FOUR ISLANDS OF JAPAN, WHY SOVIET NAVY AND AIR FORCES ARE DEPLOYED AROUND

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JAPAN, WHY THE SOVIET UNION WANTS TO LINK UP ITS FLEET IN THE FAR EAST WITH THOSE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, MEDITERRANEAN AND THE ATLANTIC, AND WHY LAST APRIL THE SOVIET UNION CONDUCTED WORLDWIDE NAVAL EXERCISES OF AN OFFENSIVE NATURE IN ASIA, THE ATLANTIC AND MEDITERRANEAN, ALMOST OVER THE WHOLE WORLD."

HEGEMONY IN INDOCHINA

"WE ARE OPPOSED TO SUPERPOWERS AS WELL AS TO REGIONAL HEGEMONY. PEOPLE NOW CALL INDIA A SUB-SUPERPOWER. WE ARE OPPOSED TO HER ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH HEGEMONY IN SOUTH ASIA. CHAIRMAN MAO HAS LAID DOWN A

PRINCIPLE, NOT JUST A POLICY "NEVER SEEK HEGEMONY

AND NEVER BECOME A SUPERPOWER. CHINA IN FACT IS NOT

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ACTION H-03

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P R 250900Z AUG 75

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4311

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 PEKING 1623

QUALIFIED TO BE A SUPERPOWER. IT IS VERY POOR
AND TOO UNDERDEVELOPED TO BE ONE. THE QUESTION IS THAT
IN TWO OR THREE DECADES, OR TOWARD THE END OF THE
CENTURY WHEN CHINA HAS 100 MILLION TONS OF STEEL,
IF THAT IS POSSIBLE, WILL THE YOUNGER GENERATIONS SEEK
HEGEMONY? WE HAVE EDUCATED OUR YOUTH NOT TO DO SO.
IF CHINA SEEKS HEGEMONY, IT WOULD MEAN THAT IT HAS
CHANGED COLOR AND IS NO LONGER SOCIALIST. IT IS NO
SECRET THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH
HEGEMONY ON A BROAD SCALE BY VARIOUS MEANS
THE TENTACLES OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE IN THE INDIAN
OCEAN AND ELSEWHERE.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF THAILAND, KHUKRIT, TOLD ME
THAT THE SOVIET EMBASSY IN THAILAND HAS 600 OR
700 PERSONNEL. THIS SHOWS BOTH THAT THAILAND IS
VIGILANT AND THAT THE USSR IS WILDLY AMBITIOUS.
MANY SPECULATE THAT THE USSR WILL WANT BASES IN
INDOCHINA AFTER THE US WITHDRAWAL. ONE, IT SURELY
WANTS THAT; SECOND, WHETHER IT CAN SUCCEED OR NOT
IS ANOTHER QUESTION."

QUESTION: "WHERE ARE THESE BASES?"

TENG: "THE US NEWSPAPERS SAY CAMRANH BAY.

THE PEKING CHINESE PEOPLE FOUGHT FOR 30 YEARS TO OBTAIN

THEIR NATIONAL RIGHTS. IF THEY HAND THEM OVER TO OTHERS,
I DON'T THINK THAT THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. WE KNOW
THE SOVIET UNION NOT ONLY INTENDS, BUT FERVENTLY
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INTENDS, TO DOMINATE OTHER COUNTRIES. WE CAUTION OUR
FRIENDS NOT TO LET THE TIGER IN THE BACK DOOR WHEN
RREULSING TH3 WOLF FROM THE FRONT DOOR."

ON REVOLUTION. ASKED TO DRAW A LINE BETWEEN SUPPORT
FOR AND EXPORT OF REVOLUTION, TENG SAID:
"EXPORT OF REVOLUTION MEANS THAT CHINA WOULD IMPOSE ITS
IDEAS ON OTHER COUNTRIES AND DEMAND THAT THEY ACT
ACCORDINGLY. CHAIRMAN MAO ALWAYS TAUGHT US THAT THE
PEOPLE IN A COUNTRY SHOULD ACT ACCORDING TO THEIR CONCRETE
EXPERIENCE IN MAKING REVOLUTION.WE BASE THE
CHINESE REVOLUTION ON A COMBINATION OF THE DOCTRINES
OF MARXISM-LENINISM WITH OUR OWN CONCRETE CONDITIONS.
WE ACCUMULATED MUCH BITTER EXPERIENCE. WHEN WE
WERE FORCED TO COPY FROM THE SOVIET REVOLUTION, THE
CHINESE REVOLUTION WAS SET BACK AND WE WERE FORCED
TO MAKE THE LONG MARCH OF 12,500 LI. SINCE WE LRE
A SOCIALIST COUNTRY AND WE ARE COMMUNISTS, WE MUST
SUPPORT THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD."
HE ADDED: "IN YOUR REVOLUTION YOU WER ALSO SUPPORTED
BY EUROPE."

THE THREAT OF WAR. "PEOPLE HAVE LABELLED CHINA AS
WARLINE SINCE WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THERE IS A
DANGER OF WAR, A THIRD WORLD WAR. THERE
REALLY IS A DANGER OF WAR, BUT NOT IN THREE OR FIVE
YEARS. ONLY THE US AND THE USSR HAVE THE CAPABILITY
TO LAUNCH A WORLD WAR AND THE GREATER DANGER IS
FROM THE USSR. OTHERWISE, WHY IS THE USSR SO
ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE
AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA? ITS ARMS ARE EXPANDING
AND IT SEEKS WORLD HEGEMONY. WE HOPE FOR A FAVORABLE
ENVIRONMENT TO BUILD OUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH
OF WARS,BUT WE CANNOT SHUT OUR EYES TO DANGER AND,
THEREFORE, MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR IT. WE HAVE CAUTIONED
OUR FRIENDS, INCLUDING AMERICAN FRIENDS. WHEN PEOPLE
HAVE NO CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE WORLD SITUATION OR
MAKE NO PREPARATIONS, WAR WILL BREAK OUT SOON."

PORTUGAL.

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"SOME PEOPLE IN PORTUGAL HAVE DECLARED IT AS SOCIALIST. IT IS NOT SOCIALIST. THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE NOT COMMUNISTS, BUT ONLY AGENTS OF THE SOVIET UNION. OR COURSE, WE BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY FOREIGN CONTROL, BUT AT PRESENT A DANGER OF SOVIET CONTROL EXISTS.

THE PORTUGUESE HAVE INITIATED ON MANY OCCASIONS DISCUSSIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA. UP TO NOW WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO DO SO SINCE THE SITUATION IS STILL NOT CLEAR. WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE. THE FOCUS OF SOVIET STRATEGY IS IN EUROPE AND PORTUGAL IS PART OF THAT STRATEGY."

ASSESSMENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

"IN OUR OPINION, THE UN CAN PLAY A ROLE THAT IS NEEDED BUT A ROLE THAT IS VERY LIMITED. HOW MANY UN RESOLUTIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE BEEN REALLY IMPLEMENTED.?"
BUSH

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